



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE LINGUISTIC POSITION OF THE PAWUMWA INDIANS OF SOUTH AMERICA

By ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN

ARTICLES like that of Mr J. D. Haseman, entitled "Some Notes on the Pawumwa Indians of South America," which appeared in the *American Anthropologist* for April-June, 1912, are a distinct addition to the scanty literature concerning many of the aboriginal peoples of the southern half of the New World. Of especial importance is the vocabulary of 123 words, quite sufficient to determine the linguistic position of these Indians who, according to Mr Haseman (p. 333), "are apparently unknown to science and live under conditions little or not at all affected by the civilization of the white man." The Pawumwa Indians live in a region of South America that has furnished many linguistic stocks and dialects. The Bolivian-Brazilian country between 10° and 20° south latitude and 58° and 70° west longitude has, at some time or other, embraced nearly a score of independent tongues. According to Mr Haseman, the hunting grounds of the Pawumwa Indians are on the Brazilian side of the Rio Guaporé, not far from Fort Principe de Beira, which is situated in the region of south latitude 12° and west longitude 65°, above the confluence of the Rio Guaporé and Rio Mamoré. The permanent village of the Pawumwa, Mr Haseman states (p. 338), is situated "on the headwaters of Rio São Miguel." At first sight, it seemed as if the Pawumwa represented a new and distinct stock of American aborigines, but this does not prove to be the case, the vocabulary collected by Mr Haseman serving to indicate the linguistic relationship of these interesting Indians with others already on record.

Among the Indian tribes of the Guaporé-Mamoré region of eastern Bolivia, concerning whom we know but little, are the Ité (or Iténès) and the Chapacura (or Tapacura). D'Orbigny¹ gives a brief account of the "Nation Ité ou Iténès" (pp. 307-308) and of

¹ A. d'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain, Voy. d. l'Amér. Mérid.*, t. IV, Paris, 1839.

the "Nation Chapacura" (pp. 288-290). In the comparative vocabulary facing page 80 he records 23 words in Ité and Chapacura—the Chapacura terms for "father" and "mother" (*tiaia* and *mama*) and the Ité term for "evil spirit" (*tuméke*) are cited elsewhere. The statement is also made that the Quitemocas are a branch of the Chapacuras, their language showing some dialectal differences. Father Cardús,¹ in his work on the Franciscan missions of Bolivia, gives vocabularies of Iténès and Chapacura, taken from d'Orbigny. This seems to be all the accessible linguistic material.

The territory assigned to the Ité or Iténè Indians lies in north-eastern Bolivia around the confluence of the Rio Mamoré and the Rio Guaporé (also known as Rio Iténès), and on some of their smaller affluents, in the region of 12°-13° south latitude and 64°-66° west longitude. In 1831, according to d'Orbigny, they numbered some 1,000, all "wild," and roving considerably to the north and east. There were at that time also a few prisoners at Exaltación. Balzan, in 1892, locates the Iténès in the region of 12°-13° south latitude and 64°-65° west longitude.

The original habitat of the Chapacura Indians seems to have been the banks of the Rio Baures (Rio Branco), near the Guarayo lake, in eastern Bolivia, in the region of 15° south latitude and 62° 30' west longitude. The mission records sometimes term them *Guarayos* or *Huarayus*, a fact leading to their being mistakenly identified with the *Guaraní*, just as the name *Huachi*, with which they designate themselves, has caused another incorrect identification with the Paraguayan *Guachi*. In 1831, according to d'Orbigny, they were represented at the mission of Carmen de Móxos by some 300 individuals. To this stock belonged also some 700 Quitemocas, likewise some 300 "wild" Indians. Hervas cites the "Quitema" as an independent linguistic stock of the Chiquitan region, but d'Orbigny observes (p. 289) that "the language of the Quitemocas possesses many terms different from those of the Chapacuras, due perhaps to old relations with some other distinct people." It is with the Ité and Chapacura languages that the Pawumwa seems to be related, as the following data will indicate.

¹ J. Cardús, *Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los Indios de Bolivia*, etc., Barcelona, 1886.

The Itenean and Chapacuran words from d'Orbigny may be here reproduced together with the corresponding words (where they happen to be given) in the Pawumwa vocabulary of Mr Haseman:

ENGLISH	ITÉ	CHAPACURA	PAWUMWA
Arrow	<i>pari</i>	<i>parami</i>
Bow	<i>kivo</i>	<i>chininie</i>
Cheek	<i>buca</i>	<i>urutarachi</i>
Ear	<i>iniri</i>	<i>taitatachi</i>	<i>tra'ĩ'tci</i>
Eat, to	<i>caore</i>	<i>cahuara</i>	<i>ká+una</i> (I eat)
Eyes	<i>to</i>	<i>tucuchi</i>	<i>túkĩtci</i>
Fire	<i>iche</i>	<i>isse</i>	<i>ĩ'tcē'</i>
Give me	<i>huiti</i>	<i>miapachi</i>
Hand	<i>uru</i>	<i>umichi</i>	<i>makuwamnatci</i>
Head	<i>mahui</i>	<i>upachi</i>	<i>àtĩpē'tci'</i>
He, she	<i>comari</i>	<i>aricau</i>
I, me	<i>miti</i>	<i>huaya</i>
Man	<i>huataki</i>	<i>kiritian</i>	<i>pahũ'nmuwám</i>
Moon	<i>panevo</i>	<i>panato</i>	<i>pànawú</i>
Mountain	<i>pico</i>	<i>pecun</i>	<i>pĩkĩ'n</i>
Old	<i>ucuti</i>	<i>itaracun</i>	<i>brahũ'nwa</i>
Sleep, to	<i>upuiira</i>	<i>huachiaé</i>	<i>trũmi'</i>
Sun	<i>mapito</i>	<i>huapuito</i>	<i>gwàpĩru'</i>
Water	<i>como</i>	<i>acum</i>	<i>kũm</i>
Wish, I	<i>imirè</i>	<i>mosi chacum</i>
Wish, I do not	<i>inimire</i>	<i>masi chacum</i>
Woman	<i>iana</i>	<i>yamake</i>	<i>jémarimà</i>
Young	<i>iroco</i>	<i>isohuem</i>

Comparison of these three languages shows that the words for 'eat,' 'fire,' 'moon,' 'mountain,' 'sun,' and 'water' are identical or practically identical in Ité, Chapacura, and Pawumwa, and that certain other agreements exist between Pawumwa and Chapacura. These amount to identities in the case of the words for 'eye' (Ité *to* may not be the stem-word), and, perhaps, also, 'ear' and 'head.' Longer vocabularies of the languages in question must be awaited to settle the matter absolutely, but the evidence here cited would appear to place the Pawumwa in the same linguistic group as the Ité and the Chapacura. The Ité and Chapacura have hitherto been listed as independent linguistic stocks, but in the vocabulary of 23 words given by d'Orbigny it will be noted that the words for 'eat,' 'eyes,' 'fire,' 'moon,' 'mountain,' 'sun,' and 'water' are

identical, or practically so, i. e., more than one-fourth of the total number, which certainly suggests something more than mere borrowing. Nearly the same number (six words are of the same character) in all three languages, and some other resemblances appear between Pawumwa and Chapacura. The evidence in hand thus suggests that Ité, Chapacura (with Quitemoca), and Pawumwa are branches of the same linguistic stock, or that Pawumwa is identical with Chapacura or with Ité, or perhaps that Pawumwa is more closely related to Chapacura than to Ité, as, indeed, d'Orbigny's vocabulary seems to suggest. A greater resemblance of Pawumwa to Chapacura may be argued also from the statement of d'Orbigny (p. 308) that Ité avoids consonantal endings in its words, something not characteristic of Chapacura. He says also that Ité is more "laconic" than Chapacura. The fact noted by d'Orbigny also that Chapacura has a considerable number of words terminating in *-m*, *-n*, etc., points to close relationship with the Pawumwa.

Provisionally it might be well to group Ité, Chapacura, and Pawumwa together as forming one linguistic stock, and, since we at present possess more material concerning the Pawumwa, the vocabulary of Mr Haseman being so much larger than the Ité and Chapacura vocabularies of d'Orbigny, it might be well also to assign, provisionally at least, to this linguistic family the name Pawumwan, constituted, on present evidence, of Ité, Chapacura, and Pawumwa.

In his vocabulary Mr Haseman includes the word *kabíci*, with the meaning "bad man, dangerous, savage, enemy," and with the further information (p. 344) that "any Pawumwa could without hesitation identify the arrows—always shouting '*Kabíci*!' when shown arrows from other tribes." It is probable that this word *kabíci* is the same as *kabíči*, *kabixi*, *kabiši*, the appellation of an Arawakan tribe inhabiting, with the Paressi (also Arawakan), the source region of Rio Cabaçal, Rio Jauru, Rio Juruena, and Rio Guaporé, in the Brazilian Matto Grosso.¹

CLARK UNIVERSITY
WORCESTER, MASS.

¹ See M. Schmidt in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1912, vol. XLIV, pp. 146-174.